1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

754 that both deal with supernatural forces, and they freely express
756 the opinion that each knows much of the other's lore, but whereas *kal·kus* are shunned and feared, *machis* are called upon for help. Quite often, as a matter of fact, a *machi* may be asked to counteract the work of a sorcerer; and *machis* are even thought to have the power to enter a *renü* in order to remove whatever substance a witch may be drying out. Just the same, some say with a knowing chuckle, it is best not to arouse a *machi* because if she gets angry, or if her fees are not paid, she may work hand in hand with a witch, or she herself may engage in sorcery.

754 Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in
756 which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that
771 disrupt the social order. These notions are never unequivocally
●773 expressed, for the Mapuche do not systematize their religious beliefs, but two forms of evidence can be cited in support of a dualistic interpretation. For one thing, the natives speak of beneficent deities, *kümeñunechen*, who oppose spirits of evil, known as *wesañunechen*. The latter operate through witches and *wekufü* to cause illness and death, and the former function to oppose them through the agency of *machis*. Equally important is evidence based on a sort of origin myth. Long, long ago, runs the story, a mythical serpent, *kaikai*, raised a flood to overwhelm mankind, but it was counteracted by a magic mountain, *treñtreñ*, that rose ever higher to provide refuge for enough living things to repopulate the earth.[8] The struggle between the two sets of forces is never-ending. Evil powers continue to plague mankind with ailments brought about by *piwichen*, *choñchoñ*, *cherufe*, *witranalwe*, or *añchimallen*. Against them strive the *machis* with the help of prophetic dreams sent by well-disposed supernatural agents.[9]

[8] For further details of this myth see Oyarzún, 1917; and Soustelle, 1938, pp. 39–43.

[9] A *machi* who has dreamed in the night must sing and beat her drum on the next day. Probably, they have frequent dreams, for one or the other of Carrarriñe's two *machis* could be heard beating her drum on numerous occasions.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

but in the real basis of their ideas they are as pagan as they were three centuries ago. As a proof of this I have seen sacrifices made during a dry season to *Nguruvilu*, the god of rain, by nominal Christians at less than half a mile distance from the Quino mission. It is also shown by their adhering to their old burial customs. They would never consent to the Spanish mode of burial, alleging that to do so would be to leave their dead without resources for their journey to the other world.

It seems to be a futile task to engraft an intensely spiritual religion on a mind that is entirely materialistic, as it only leads from one form of paganism to another. Not that missionary work should be discouraged, on the contrary it is of the highest benefit when properly undertaken, but the only immediate results are from material and moral teaching, and only after long generations can we hope to find practical results from a strictly religious point of view.

There are many legends extant among the Indians referring to the deluge, but these seem to have had reference primarily to local cataclysms, although the early writers attribute to it an universal character.

Medina in his work, *Aborigènes de Chile*, relates a legend that only too clearly bears the imprint of a Christian modification. He says: "A tradition is preserved from immemorial ages by the Indians, that on the site now occupied by the lake of Tagua-tagua, long before the arrival of the Spaniards, existed a beautiful and fertile valley, very densely populated. These people had become so relaxed and degenerate in their customs that God sent two beautiful youths to warn them. On their continuing in their sin the youths were sent a second time. Still no heed was taken of the warning, till God, losing all patience, sent an awful earthquake, which overturned the valley, splitting asunder the rocks, the waters bursting forth and swallowing up the whole valley. From that day to this the people disappeared off the face of the globe."

Here we have a legend, the formation of which is based on strict geological truth, as a brief study of the neighbourhood reveals, but the causes deduced are undoubtedly of a much later date, and are clearly an addition to the original tale, recalling immediately the story of Sodom and Gomorrah. That this part of the legend has not been invented by Indian agency is clear from the fact that none of their deities are attributed with any desire or interest in the goodness of mankind and also that to the Araucano sin has no particular meaning. Nuñez de Pineda in his *Cautiverio Feliz* states that *dametun*, carrying off a married woman, was considered by them as a sin, as was also stealing and murder. This seems, however, to be a misunderstanding of the term, as these acts were then, as now, considered only as crimes towards the community, and were punished as such, but without it occurring to the Indian that it was wrong in a religious sense. It was not the act itself that was condemned, but the fact of its being committed in one's own or in a friendly clan. On the contrary such an act committed in a strange tribe was considered as perfectly allowable, and generally upheld by arms, if necessary, by the clan to which the offender belonged.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

756 claimed to derive her power directly from ɳºnéchen, the Supreme Being, and/or from deceased shamans. She also called upon deceased machis to intercede with the Supreme Being to give her power to cure. She was likewise helped to get in touch through trance with the spiritual world by special spiritual helpers and/or by projection of her own soul out of her body.

Ancient methods of treatment, as described in detail by Bascuñan (1863, pp. 159–61), included: Use of the *Drimys winteri*, the drum, fumigating with tobacco smoke, killing of an animal with extraction of the heart and licking of the blood therefrom, pretended extraction and replacement of the patient's entrails, and shamanistic trance. Other older practices included massage and extraction by suction or other method of the small stick, worm, or other object responsible for the disease.

All these features, apart from the pretended entrail extraction, were common in more modern shamanistic treatment of disease, together with a certain number of additional features. Such more modern ones were: Recitation of powerful curative prayers or magical formulas given to the shaman by the Supreme Being; climbing by the machi of the ladderlike pole of the rewe (pl. 153, *top, right*), and falling in a sort of swoon therefrom and being caught by assistants in a blanket; prayers or incantations, charges on horseback with shouts, and the palm-to-mouth war cry, to put to flight the evil spirits; use of the calabash rattle, and playing of flutes by the machi's assistants. Actually, the rites in modern treatments were very elaborate and complicated.

Moesbach and Félix José took the view that the shaman had no part in the ɳillatun rite. And Robles Rodríguez is silent on such participation. On the other hand, Guevara and Housse have presented data showing clearly that, in at least some cases, the machi entered intimately and actively into the ɳillatun rite as an intermediary between the people and the Supreme Being.

756 754 The line between the shaman (machi) and the sorcerer (kal·ku) cannot always be easily drawn. From the native standpoint, it would seem that the machi's function was fundamentally a socially beneficent one; the sorcerer's, a fundamentally maleficent one. A kal·ku believed to be responsible by use of poisons, of mythical servitors, or of ivunche (stolen infants) for the death of a person, was apt to be put to death, and commonly by being burnt alive. (For details on sorcerer, cf. Robles Rodríguez, 1942, pp. 167–72.)

MYTHOLOGY

773 Much of *Mapuche-Huilliche* folklore has been deeply influenced by European sources. It is often very hard to determine just where

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

aboriginal elements end and later intruded ones begin. Much, however, that is aboriginal has survived. 773

Cosmogony centered chiefly around the treŋ treŋ flood story, in several versions, the most complete early one being that of Rosales (1877–78, 1:3). The flood was caused by a quarrel between two great serpents, treŋ treŋ and kaikai. The higher kaikai raised the waters, the higher did treŋ treŋ raise the mountain on which some humans took refuge, while others became transformed into fish, marine animals, rocks, etc. At the end of the flood, the surviving humans engendered offspring who became the ancestors of the later Indians. (On flood, cf.: Lehmann-Nitsche, 1918; Gusinde, 1922.) Another tradition has it that the people originally issued from large rocks (Félix José, 1916, 1:299).

Mapuche-Huilliche narrative folklore, of which a considerable amount has been published, is largely concerned with tales of: Supernatural beings, such as Meul'en and Shompallwe previously mentioned (under Religion, p. 748), Cheurfe (comet or shooting star; also a cannibal giant), and others; hybrid monsters, such as Waillepen (a calf-sheep), Piwichen (a winged serpent); ghosts and apparitions (including the Lenore motif); sorcerers and their machinations; and animals, among whom the fox played a leading role as the wily predatory adventurer who was frequently outwitted or brought to heel. Folk stories were told by men or women, at night, with enlivening mimicry, intonation, and gesture, and with frequent interpolations of, "they say," "it is said," "it seems." (For collections of *Araucanian* folklore cf.: Lenz, 1895–97, especially 94:100–20, 245–62, animal stories; 94:691–719, mythical beings, 1896; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 319–63; 1911, pp. 98–117; Félix José, 1910, passim; Speck, 1924; Soustelle, 1938.)

LORE AND LEARNING

Sciences.—A good many constellations and planets were known by native names. The Milky Way was the heavenly river or the road of the "fairies." An eclipse of the sun or moon was verbalized as the death thereof. Comets, according to Molina (1901, p. 177), were not always omens of disaster. In recent times, according to Moesbach (1936, p. 82), earthquakes were attributed to the Supreme Being; volcanic eruptions to Pillañ or wekufü. 821

From the slaughtering of animals and shamanistic dissections to discover the sorcerer responsible for death, considerable knowledge of anatomy must have existed, but we do not have specific details. 826

Wide use was made of herbal curatives by professional shamans and semiprofessional or amateur healers. Gusinde (1936; cf. 1916–17) lists 324 such plant remedies used in the cure of disease and for related purposes. Plants were used as purgatives, emetics, sudorifics, aborti- 824 757

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The belief in a guardian spirit, such as is found among the Chippewa (Hilger, 1951, pp. 44-48) and the Arapaho (1952, pp. 124-134), is not part of the Araucanian culture.

MALIGNANT SPIRITS, THEIR ABODE

The belief in malignant spirits is pre-Christian, but the belief in a place of punishment for wrongdoing is probably of recent origin. Evil spirits are called wekufü—"wekufü are beings something like the devils in your religion." "The Mapuche have great fear of wekufü," said a non-Araucanian. "The first missionaries used to tell of this fear." Quoting an Alepúe man: "If a whirlwind comes near a ruka in the daytime, or if there is a noise outside the ruka at night, several persons, never one alone, will go out with firebrands and flourish these toward the noise, and say, 'Wekufü, return to where your house is' [informant said this in Araucanian]. If it is not wekufü himself that is there, it must be the restless spirit of a deceased person that is molesting the place."

According to a Panguipulli woman, the flood (probably biblical) was caused by a malignant spirit: "My mother told me that in very early times the rivers overflowed, and there was a great flood. Within the flooded area, a hill raised itself—they say tren tren raised it—and upon it the people rescued themselves. They called this hill tren tren in honor of the good spirit that had rescued them. The bad spirit that caused the flood was called kaikaiwülu." An old man listening in had interjected, "Tren tren is a place where a child was offered when the rivers and lakes rose to overflowing; it was believed that where the blood of the child would flow land would appear." The informant disagreed. "No, no! No child was sacrificed. Not far from here in the mountains [Andes] is the place where that land appeared, and it is said to be tren tren. This story has been told from generation to generation among the Mapuche. My grandmother never saw tren tren, but I heard her tell this story." (Cf. Cooper, 1946, p. 753, for other tren tren flood stories.)

The abode of wekufü is not known. "It must be where people are," reasoned the informant, "for it is people through whom wekufü works. Some say that the wekufü are in pillañ; but they cannot be there where the good people are. Maybe they are where they should be—in kütralmapu" (earth of fire, probably a word compounded to be the equivalent of hellfire). According to schoolchildren the following are in kütralmapu: The kalku (there was a chorus of "los kalku" from the children, even the youngest ones joining in when the ques-

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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776 appear as window dressing in the supernatural world, their main function seeming to be that of completing the complementarity of sexes in the Mapuche universe.

776 It is said that "everything has its spirit" and that there are
• 773 certain gods which control and, in some instances, have created the many natural phenomena. *Nenechen* made and is master of the people; *fienemapun* made and is master of the earth. Lesser gods or, more properly, the minor gods control specific phenomena. Despite some inconsistency with regard to creation or, as it were, multiple creation, it is clear that all the minor gods are at the behest of *fienechen*. There is good reason for believing that this has not always been the case—that *fienechen* was not always considered the supreme deity—but, in a monograph of this sort, there seems small worth in trying to develop this point. It is apparent that there was a god or culture hero who created man, and today this god is sometimes also credited with having created the earth, sky, and most if not all the phenomena observed by man.

776 The minor gods, while under the control of *fienechen*, retain a certain freedom of action. Some of them are described as picaresque, although in no sense malevolent. For example, *kupukafucha* and his wife, *kupukakushe*—god and goddess of abundance—do not automatically bestow man with rich crops
[782] and herds. They do answer prayers if properly addressed, and they are beseeched to intercede before *fienechen* on behalf of mankind. But there are myths and other accounts which indicate their capricious behavior. While they are asked to intercede with *fienechen*, *fienechen* himself is supplicated to oversee their activities. This kind of double security measure is characteristic of Mapuche orations and general outlook reflected therein, and becomes quite apparent during *fillatun* which are directed as a congregational enterprise to *fienechen*.

776 The surest manner of enlisting the services of these gods is
769 through the intercession of one's lineal ancestors, especially dead chiefs, who are watchful over mankind and who walk the earth in the company of the sons of the gods. The divine, celestially conceived sons of the gods—most importantly, the sons of *kupukafucha*, the *karuhua*—and the spirits of former chiefs return to earth especially to lend assistance to the

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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773 182 mechanism, drawing Mapuche together in the context of kinship.

539 184 The two versions of the Tren Tren and Kai Kai myth which follow indicate the specifics of local modification, especially when compared to accounts found in other ethnographics. The first version is a Central Valley modification, one of several.

> Tren Tren is a large mountain in a range which runs between Galvarino and Temuco. Kai Kai was a huge serpent with three arms, which were trees, and a tail that was rooted in the ground. There is a lake high up on Tren Tren, which was the house of Kai Kai. Kai Kai had the head of a huge ox. When its eyes were open, it was asleep; and when its eyes were shut, it was awake. People used to come every once in a while to hit Kai Kai's tail with sticks. Kai Kai would awaken, and its eyes would close. Kai Kai was the chief of all the animals. Then, one day, the people molested Kai Kai too much, and Kai Kai led all the animals away. Kai Kai led them into the air. They did not fly away, but just walked into the air. No one knows where they went, but they are the spirit protectors [pillan] of all living animals.

The second version, from the Toltén region along the coast, is as follows:

> Tren Tren was a hill and also a good spirit which helped people. Kai Kai was a sea bird, an evil spirit, who used to enjoy harming people. This is how Tren Tren saved the Mapuche and vanquished evil. One day Kai Kai decided to wipe out all the Mapuche, and caused the sea to rise until the land was flooded. Many people managed to climb Tren Tren with their animals, and the wild animals followed. When Kai Kai said "kai, kai, kai, kai," the sea rose until it nearly covered the top of Tren Tren and threatened all the people and animals thereon. Upon seeing this, Tren Tren rose still higher. This continued until Tren Tren reached its present height and all the sea water was used up. Kai Kai was beaten. Thus, all the people and animals that had climbed Tren Tren were safe. This shows how powerful Tren Tren was. He conquered Kai Kai and saved the people.

539 In the first version, as in several others, there is no obvious connection made of a relationship between the contemporary Mapuche and Tren Tren. Nor is Tren Tren a force either of